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second volume, incomplete, and was also published posthumously—the author, not so lucky as Rebatet, was executed in 1946. What were Brasillach's views on fascism? They were as muddled as those of Rebatet, completely out of focus with reality. How could a Frenchman with a smidgen of common sense write in 1939/40, even before the defeat: "How can one divine what passes behind those (Hitler's) eyes? What is there other than a prodigious dream, a limitless love for Deutschland, the German earth, that part that is real and that part still to be built?" How could this French Nationalist not have seen that the "part still to be built" was to be built in part at France's expense?

On another page one finds this sample of political immaturity: "Fascism was for us, however, a political doctrine, not an economic doctrine; it was not an imitation of a foreign doctrine. . . . Fascism is a feeling. . . . It is the very essence of friendship, and we would have desired that it rise to the level of national friendship." Brasillach was confusing Mussolini and Hitler with Baden-Powell. He professed to believe, during the short months of the *drole de guerre*, that fascism, instead of being the ephemeral flash that was one of the great revolutionary ideas of all time, "During the last twenty years, we have been able to see the birth of a new human type, as different, as surprising as the Cartesian hero, as the sensitive and encyclopaedic spirit of the eighteenth century, as Jacobin 'patriot'—we have seen the birth of fascist man."

Rebatet did not understand, any more than did Brasillach, the inevitable rivalry among national fascisms. He seems to have thought that Europe could be joyfully united in a voluntary fascist bloc, without German domination. In his 1942 book, he wrote that "Germany seemed well decided to break with the old system of peace by annexation and coercion, to have resolved to take in hand, finally, a pacific reorganisation of our poor continent." And he pronounced in the French people, "the only practical and reasonable policy: the offer to collaborate with Germany, without further delay; the candidature of the new France in the coming European order." "I saw," he wrote, "all that we could gain in offering our strength, our thoughts for the construction of a European peace, in our giving ourselves as quickly as possible a regime compatible with the new policy that was now governing from Anschluss to Norway—the fascist policy, of which it had so often affirmed the excellence." One can wonder what judgment a tough-minded man like Rebatet would have brought to the weak and submissive conceptions of fascism pronounced by men like Brasillach and Rebatet.

The chief value of Rebatet's two volumes—aside from the proof they give us of how ill-informed and despotic the ideas of an educated human being can become—lies in the portrait they trace of a type: the European nationalist, a sympathizer of the fascist and National Socialism, holder of neither a German nor an Italian passport, and who find the regime capable of satisfying the deepest emotions and political aspirations only in the duality of his own nationalist faith. It is one of history's little blunders that the

Rebatets of France insisted on slitting in an on a game with the cards stacked against them. Hitler might have won; Mussolini might have won; but the French nationalist was a sure loser.

Nothing that we know of history in general or of fascism in particular, no document that we possess, indicates that Hitler, had he won the Second World War, would have left the French (or the English) with any colonial possessions, any more than the French and the English had left the Germans with colonies in 1918. Hitler did not want the devastation of the fascist wars spread over into the colonies, and the resulting disquiet and unrest developed into the decolonization movements. The weakened victors in Europe wasted their energies in delaying the retreat from the colonies, while Germany, with no decolonization problem to settle, was working and invading the formerly closed markets. Nazi Germany was in effect winning the First World War, even while losing the Second World War, for succeeding German governments were to gain without effort access to the colonial markets once coveted by Kaiser Wilhelm II.

Rebatet, as a German sympathizer, should have been happy in 1972 with West Germany's affluence, but no sign of it appears in his book. It was not Germany that enfevered his thought; it was National Socialism. He could have felt no kinship with the Germany of Willy Brandt. His blood brothers were the Teutons who screamed at the Nuremberg rallies and marched in the torchlight parades, whose eyes glared from the SS uniforms, who ran the concentration camps with efficiency, who kept the gas ovens of Auschwitz alight.

At the beginning, I asked the question: Was Rebatet really a fascist? Of course he was. But the single word does not suffice to explain him. He could hardly have been called a French fascist, for the ill-defined programme that can be deduced from his writings was not a French fascist programme. As a matter of fact, he gives an adequate portrayal of himself, on page 83, of Volume II of *Les mémoires d'un fasciste*, where he describes himself as a "fascist hitlerien".

## Nothing if not feminine

By Barbara Wright

MARGARET CROSLAND:  
Women of Iron and Velvet  
255pp. Constable, £4.95.  
Raymond Radiguet  
153pp. Peter Owen, £4.95.

The women of iron and velvet of Margaret Crosland's title are those whom Mme. Françoise Giroud, the French Minister for "a condition féminine" has described as being "on the way to change". Subtle propagandists, Miss Crosland writes. Her book consists of an exhaustive list of female French writers from George Sand to Monique Wittig, sometimes discussed in a few lines, yet many of those mentioned seem to be all velvet and no iron.

## From flank to flank

By Patrick McCarthy

C. STEWART DOTY:  
From Cultural Rebellion to Counterrevolution  
The Politics of Maurice Barrès  
294pp. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, \$12.

From Cultural Rebellion to Counterrevolution deals with Maurice Barrès as political thinker and practising politician. C. Stewart Doty asserts that Barrès's ideas can only be understood in the context of his election campaigns, which he lost to the right-wing, Parisian and what the issues were Mr Doty is, understandably, less interested in the later, orthodoxly conservative Barrès than in the Dreyfusard, the socialist and the anti-incarnations with care and explains the confused politics of the early Third Republic.

When he first stood for parliament in Nancy in 1889, Barrès had thrown himself into Boulangism, which was—contrary to what is often thought—as much a left-wing as a right-wing movement. It was a coalition of ex-communards, socialists, nationalists and royalists. Denouncing parliament, Boulangism proposed a presidential constitution and the use of referendum. He was shrilly *revanchiste* and he favoured sweeping social reforms. This heady brew of authoritarianism and populism appeared to be working class and supposedly democratic republic. It also delighted the young Symbolist Barrès who was looking for heroes and excitement. As he explained in his early novels, he wanted to disport himself, on page 83, of Volume I of *Les mémoires d'un fasciste*, where he describes himself as a "fascist hitlerien".

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It is not immediately clear for what sort of purpose this book is intended, for while it sometimes takes for granted that we have a preliminary knowledge of the background in the art and literature of the period, at other times the most elementary facts are spelled out for us. We hear of "the glorious, pianist and composer Liszt", "the famous critic Julien Benda", "the poet Jules Supervielle", and (twice in three pages) "the poet Paul Claudel". Yet though Chapter 2 is titled "Barrès and Liszt", we are never told about the content or significance of that work. Gradually one becomes aware that Miss Crosland's book has been written as ammunition for feminists (often suggesting that "writing men can do, women can do better") for feminists for whom literature is not enough.

Much emphasis is given to publicly angles: the *Chéri* books, for instance, are "often serialized on radio and in magazines of varying kinds"; Jeanne Galzy's "prize-winning" *Les Allongés* "went through thirty editions on publication"; Thyde Monnet's *Monie de Berger* "became a highly successful serial for French television"; Princess Bibesco's *Le Perroquet vert* "was the first French novel of what might be called the modern era to be selected for its readers by the Literary Guild in the United States".

Chapter 1 starts with George Sand, who paved the way for the rest, but the rest is mostly back to mention other "women about whom there is a bit of a question mark". Madame De Staël is described as an "unconscious feminist"; the Comtesse de Séguir "was obviously a feminist"; "women generally supported unconsciously by the women writers"; "looked ahead and went ahead"; "Quite a few of the women of the late 19th century did not even begin to qualify and are set up as Tantes Salutes only to be finally knocked down again, like poor Pauline Régnier, in whose *Le Voyage d'Éloïse* the author may have been aware of the moral and spiritual drought current in France at the time. Unfortunately the intensity of this drought is impossible today and the style is dated and stiff."

tactic was antisemitism: "Barrès gave the flunkies and menials of the Jewish High Bank the tongue-lashing they deserve", quoted the *Second* newspaper. Actually the left was more important in Nancy than the right. The key figure in Barrès's victory was Alfred Gabriel, a former radical of socialist leanings. He brought to Boulangism a centre-left vote that was usually loyal to the republic but could be won over by the lure of strong leader who would improve working-class conditions.

By its policies and, more important, by its temper Boulangism was characteristic of the challenges that the Third and Fourth Republics would face. These governments occupied the middle ground and were vulnerable to authoritarian mass-movements: the Action Française, which was royalist and anti-capitalist, the 1930s Leagues and the Poujadé phenomenon. But the most successful was de Gaulle, whose post-war RPF was as virulently anti-parliamentarian as Barrès and who implemented in 1958 the presidential constitution. Barrès had demanded at Nancy.

Gaullism was, however, both exceptional and in some ways different: in general the two republics defended themselves well. Boulangism wanted as quickly as it had risen and its failure cannot be explained solely by its leader's weakness. Mr Doty shows that when Barrès stood for re-election in 1893, he lost the vital centre-left vote, which went to an orthodox republican. By promising pragmatic reforms Barrès's opponent won voters away from constitutional change. Very often the seemingly feeble republic would wait for the storm of rhetoric to abate and then counter-attack, moving towards its own goals. Barrès's failure was not a failure of ambition but a failure of timing. In the early 1950s the RPF group broke up when one segment returned to the parliamentary conservatism of Antoine Pinay.

Miss Crosland gives full rein to her personal likes and dislikes, though she does not give us the names on which she bases them. From time to time she admits, however, "This is unkind, but very unfair." "Marguerite Yourcenar and the two Franciscans, Mallet-Joris and Sagan, are among her okay writers, but Ivy Compton-Burnett (who is mentioned as having influenced French writers) is considered superficial and ordinary" and "to have a 'stilted, repetitive style'". Simone de Beauvoir fares worse: "her relationship with God", as described in the first part of her autobiography, is "a sad 1930s 'does not seem to have thought for herself'".

Those who assume that an "anti-male campaign" is necessary in western Europe are on a par with those on the other side of the fence (like Esther Williams, who considers that "all" women are "strong and scrumptious"); they can only blur the issues and hinder the creative liberation of "personality".

Raymond Radiguet is a very different book. Miss Crosland tells us everything we want to know about this brilliant boy who died (in 1923) when he was only twenty, having written two books which, as she says, unquestionably have their place in the development of the French novel. Apart from *Le Diable au corps* and *Le Bal du comte d'Orges*, Radiguet wrote poems, short stories and reflections on writing, translations of which are interspersed through his biographical study. Cocteau called him "the miracle of the Marne" and, as an adolescent, Radiguet was sufficiently mature and interesting to become a friend of many of the now classic names among the writers of the time: Max Jacob, Jean Cocteau, Erik Satie, "les Six", Juan Gris, Braque, Marc Ray. One of the most extraordinary things about him was that, though so young and so ambitious, he had the courage not to ally himself with any of the avant-garde schools, but to praise "ordinary, straightforward, writing, painting and music". The straightforwardness of Miss Crosland's approach to Radiguet is, in my opinion, far more successful than the propagandist transmission through far Napoleonic women.

Alternatively the republic could enlist one section of its opposition against the other. By its appeal to individual justice and its anti-clericalism, it persuaded the socialists to join with it against the anti-Dreyfusards.

In a deeper sense Boulangism—like Poujadism—was capable of no opposition. These movements were a kind of Proudhon which thrived on parliamentary scandals like the Panama affair, but could offer no valid alternatives. The violence and incoherence of their protests reveals their negative character. This is why, although Mr Doty finds fascist elements in Barrès's thought, no fascist movement grew strong in France. Fascism was concerned with power, with winning and the making use of it. When Barrès tried briefly to build the anti-Dreyfus groups into a mass movement, he discovered that they were timid and moved away. He had no programme, Drouot's attempted coup of 1899, in which Barrès took part, turned out to be no more than a farce.

In any case Barrès himself was too much of an anarchist to be a political leader. After the collapse of Boulangism he stood twice in Neuilly as a socialist but, when the socialists organized themselves and drew up a coherent programme, he moved away. He had no taste for centralized planning or collective ownership. He embraced the doctrine of blood, soil and Abba-Lorraine because it was emotionally more satisfying than socialism but also because it demanded less discipline. It gave him room and legitimacy without infringing on his cult of the self. Even then he could not get back into the Chamber after two further defeats, he abandoned the anti-Dreyfusards in 1906 and won a seat as a parliamentary conservative. There was a strong strain of ambition in Barrès, the German threat was pushing the Third Republic towards a more strident nationalism; Barrès, too, allowed himself to be won back.

"women" too. On the other hand, Miss Crosland asserts that "it could easily be proved that there is a masculine miracle in Sagan".

Miss Margaret Mead worked and written in vain, she wonders, because of all these anti-male generalizations? Miss Crosland does, however, quote Gisèle Halimi, who said that: "Objectively, I consider the liberation of women is the liberation of men. Our text we might have a detente in the artificial female-male war, and be spared much that is trivial, banal and counter-productive."

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## Since the Long March

By John Addis

BILL BRUGGER:  
Contemporary China  
451pp. Croom Helm, £9.95.

Bill Brugger in *Contemporary China* has written a history of the People's Republic of China from its founding in October 1949 to the Tenth Party Congress in August 1977. He presents a consecutive narrative of events, conveniently divided into short sections with clear cross-headings.

In the opening sentence of the preface Mr Brugger disclaims originality and says that he offers a history based firmly on secondary sources. That is too modest. His disclaimers between the views of other scholars and gives throughout his own interpretation of events. He lived in China in the 1950s, and the invaluable asset of that direct experience enables him to give the feel of some developments and make them more comprehensible to Mr Brugger to call him a sympathetic observer. That by no means implies engagement or endorsement. By "conservatives" he means those leaders who "see socialist transition as an orderly process in which economic development is a precondition for social change". His "ultra-leftists" are those who "see all disorder as defined but must stand somewhere in between. Mr Brugger seldom

identifies the individual leaders who make up his three categories.

It would surely be difficult to do so consistently, and it seems doubtful whether this division of the central leadership into three distinct groups has real validity as a constant feature of the period. The "ultra-leftists" in Mr Brugger's definition, scarcely existed before the Cultural Revolution. It would be nearer to the truth to apply Mr Brugger's three categories, not to individuals or groups, but to the range of possible policies at any juncture. That would surely be nearer to the dialectical viewpoint which Mr Brugger elsewhere adopts.

Mr Brugger very properly gives a dynamic view of the history of China since 1949. He borrows from the terminology of the social sciences to divide the history into nine "cycles" in August 1973. If the term "cycle" meant no more than "period" that would be entirely acceptable, and few would dispute the validity of the nine periods, which are indeed already widely accepted. But the term "cycle", in Mr Brugger's definition, has a special sense: each cycle "is characterised by a period of moderate radicalism, then accelerated radicalism and finally a period of consolidation". Mr Brugger does not define the relationship of "radicalism" or "accelerated radicalism" to the group of "radicals" which he has posited in the leadership. That, however, is a merely marginal objection

demand for greater American understanding of the lessons of East Asian history, and a greater investment of resources to that end. "American relations with China have reached a difficult phase," he writes. "We can't just do something; we have to think." Ostensibly the book is aimed at an audience limited to present-day Americans, but in reality it has a world-wide and timeless message about the need for mutual understanding through the study of history. It may seem fragmentary, but the author's unity and integrity by the author's profound understanding of the Chinese past.

In our universities a serious academic interest in Chinese history had hardly arisen before 1949, when China closed its doors to the

glon, and they range in time from Neolithic China to the Eastern Chou period (c. the century 771 BC). While one of those chapters may be read independently as a positive contribution to China's prehistory or history, the book as a whole is an admirable introduction to the beginnings of Chinese civilization.

Professor Chang's scholarship is both wide and deep enough to direct a reader's attention to areas outside China, indeed East Asia; with admirable caution he suggests that it not be uncumbered with technical or overworked with jargon. It is only rarely that a book of reprints can be praised as forming a single unity whose several parts complement one another and lead to a general conclusion. *Early Chinese Civilization* is just such a book. It is a very good example of the work of different disciplines being combined to suggest positive results which could hardly be reached by any one of the individual fields. Any one particular field of research, such as the abstracts of anthropology or the exactitudes of modern archaeology. In this way Professor Chang demonstrates the very important distinction that may be drawn between the cultures of Shang (1766-1122 BC) and Western Chou (1122-256 BC), in terms of religion and mythology, social structure and political institutions. The book is a masterpiece of scholarship, and perhaps the most striking conclusion is that the principles of succession for the kings of Shang and the great divides that separate the religions of the three cultures are the same. The author is to be congratulated and thanked for a book which may be heartily welcomed as an introductory volume to the origins and growth of Chinese civilization.

Critical and controlled archaeology in China has mostly been concerned with the assembly and classification of validated information and the establishment of schema and typologies. For the later periods it has sometimes been possible to relate particular localities, graves or objects to the named sites or persons of carefully scrutinized texts, very often with the help of translations. Such work has resulted in detailed studies of particular subjects and problems, or in the monumental descriptions of the evidence such as are seen in Cheng Te-kun's books, most of which have been published since 1972, so has it been necessary and possible to reassess the conclusions of the past and to amend the tentative conclusions accepted hitherto.

Perhaps the most rare, and at the same time the most bold, contribution to the subject is that of synthetic interpretation. Pride of place must be given here to K. C. Chang's earlier book, *The Archaeology of Ancient China*, which was first published in 1963 and has been revised to take account of the more recent discoveries and the use of modern techniques such as radiocarbon dating. This book is now supplemented by *Early Chinese Civilization*, which includes reprints of nine articles that appeared between 1962 and 1974. The chapters concern a diversity of subjects in archaeology, anthropology and reli-

gion, and they range in time from Neolithic China to the Eastern Chou period (c. the century 771 BC). While one of those chapters may be read independently as a positive contribution to China's prehistory or history, the book as a whole is an admirable introduction to the beginnings of Chinese civilization.

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Intellectual curiosity of the Western world. But America has older statesmen of Chinese studies left over from the pre-war period, among whom Professor Fairbank is often counted as the doyen. With personal experience of China in 1932 and 1972 he can compare today's "miraculous" changes in the country with his first impressions of Chinese villages, where he was struck by the barking of ill-fed dogs and the curses of children covered with flies. He believes that the Maoist revolution is "on the whole the best thing that has happened to the Chinese people in many centuries". This is no sudden conversion; for he was writing hopefully about the Communists when he was there in 1946.

Since then he has had to endure three decades of American folly in East Asia. The trouble, he thinks, is that the makers of history in the East have no known enough East Asian history. In that part of the world history does repeat itself.

Imperial China took little interest in Southeast Asia. Her main foreign policy concern was always security against Inner China, and for control over it. Today, in the same tradition, Tibet and Sinkiang are developed by settlers sent out to follow in the footsteps of the millennial conquerors who helped to garrison the outlying areas in imperial times, and contemporary worries over the long land frontier with the Soviet Union echo the old Wall mentality. China's hostility to American imperialism is better understood if it is appreciated that the Chinese have often suffered from collusion between their own rulers and foreign aggressors. China's control of foreign violence also makes sense in view of the dangers brought about a century ago by a flood of missionaries and missionaries.

On the other side Professor Fairbank shows how American and nineteenth-century political devices long ago, other traditions have lost the power to apply them. Taiwan is a last substitute for a treaty port, and the American strategy in Vietnam was a version of gunboat diplomacy, doomed to failure because nineteenth-century military and political conditions no longer obtained. Yet America still devotes only tiny resources to the study of Vietnamese language and history. The book's one major omission is the complete lack of any discussion of the political role of American policy in Cambodia. It is not covered, but it gives a good insight into the relationship of the American and Chinese export of recent decades.

Mr Brugger effectively closes his narrative in August 1973, with only a few tentative references to later events. It is a pity that what was no doubt a major force in this led him to make an error of fact in the brief biographies at the end of the book, where he lists Wang Hung-wei, Chien Ch'ing in 1974. It is an important element in the story of the Gang of Four that none of these three attained office under the State Council.

Elsewhere Mr Brugger maintains a high standard of accuracy. The book is packed with facts and useful references and never fails to give a clear understanding of the shape and nature of the broad sweep of developments. It will take its place beside Jacques Guérin's *Histoire du Parti Communiste Chinois* as an indispensable work of reference.

to a thesis which seems to apply altogether too neat and schematic a pattern to the surge of events since 1949.

Mr Brugger defends his cyclical model by arguing that it is also the conception of the Chinese leaders themselves, who in 1953 wrote of a "saddle-shaped", or "U-shaped", development, "the high at the beginning and at the end, but low in the middle." That metaphor, however, seems to belong within the period of the General Line and the Great Leap.

Didn't we see very clearly how things developed in the production front in 1956-1957-1958 in the form of an upsurge, then an ebb, and then an even bigger upsurge or, in other words, a leap forward, then a conservative phase and then another big leap forward? The Party and the masses have learned a lesson from this U-shaped (or saddle-shaped) development.

It is clear from the context of that extract from the report to the Party Congress in 1958 that the lesson learnt by the party and the masses is not that a U-shaped development is the regular pattern not only for the past decade but for the next two decades as well, but rather that if there has been an ebb or a conservative phase on the production front, then an even bigger upsurge and another big leap must follow.

Since 1962 the metaphor of a U-shaped development seems to have

been entirely displaced by the concept of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; and it is due to the understanding of developments in the 1960s and 1970s. But Mr Brugger wears lightly the sociological harness which he has assumed and does not allow it to hamper the progress of his narrative. He is quite free to admit radical features within his periods of radicalization. If the model is after all as flexible, one wonders what are its advantages.

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## Love in a monastery

By A. W. E. Dolby

LI-LI CH'EN:  
Master Tung's Western Chamber Romance  
(Tung Hsi-chung chu-kung-tiao)  
238pp. Cambridge University Press, £9.75.

Master Tung's *Western Chamber Romance* is a translation of the most famous surviving long narrative ballad in Chinese literature. Considered as the greatest of Chinese verse and prose, it is a masterpiece of the Chinese people in many centuries. This is no sudden conversion; for he was writing hopefully about the Communists when he was there in 1946.

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# Requiem for the genius loci

By David Lowenthal

E. RELPH  
Place and Placelessness  
156pp. Pion. £4.50.

According to Edward Relph in *Place and Placelessness*, the qualities that differentiate one place from another and that help to make each place unique are rapidly vanishing under the onslaught of mass production, manipulated taste, and tourism. What makes a place unique, however, is not so much its physical or social features as the attitude of the viewer, either resident or visitor. As spatial distinctiveness diminishes, so our perceptive faculties atrophy, deluding the quality of what we see and ultimately reducing diverse milieus to a bland and uniform placelessness. In Relph's own words:

Placelessness describes both an environment without significant places and the underlying attitude which does not acknowledge significance in places. It reaches back into the deepest levels of place, cutting roots, eroding symbols, replacing diversity with uniformity and experiential order with conceptual order. As its most profound, it consists of a pervasive and perhaps irreversible alienation from places as the homes of men.

This general thesis is familiar to recent observers of the human landscape, and Relph's conclusions do not add to the received wisdom. What, then, has he brought to the topic that warrants our reading his book? First, he shows the range of evidence from the social and environmental sciences, together with literary examples of attitudes towards places throughout the world. Second, he puts the topic in a phenomenological and existential framework, and

relates it to Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology and Heidegger's *Being and Time* relationship, an interaction between observer and milieu. Third, he suggests an alternative perspective which might halt, if not reverse, the present slide towards placelessness. None of these laudable aims, however, is wholly attained. Relph's illustrative quotations seldom fit harmoniously into his text. Rather than lending weight to a particular trend of thought, they stand out as essential statements, sometimes conflicting both Relph and the reader from the thread of the argument. For example, Relph uses a Ruskinian diatribe against shopkeepers' decor to bolster his own disapproval of tourist and mass-facade architecture that attracts travellers—and then goes on to denounce downtown advertising; the tourists are lost from the scene. A discussion of Camus's subjectively experienced landscape of the absurd precedes a long passage from the *Travels of Marco Polo* on the emotive styles of Alpine travellers, after which Relph writes about landscapes that are absurd because we have made them that way. The van den Berg quotation separates the argument, leaving unexplained Relph's shift from the nature of feeling to the nature of environment. Nor does a passage from Proust, on the inevitability of forgetting most of what we have seen, support Relph's thesis that we are now less attached to places than we used to be; Proust was referring to a permanent human condition, not to a historical change in perception of environment.

Music, he writes on more than one occasion, is a characteristic which is "species specific". Why? Because "Love", which "is the basis of our existence as human beings", is at the same time "a social act" and because music "is a social act". As a result, music occupies an absolutely central position in human society. Its characteristic, moreover, is to be everywhere, and because music "is a social act", it is everywhere. The implied conclusion from "pragmatic and pragmatic space" to "existential space" is both historically and anthropologically simplistic.

Finally, Relph's advocacy undermines the whole hypothesis. This is only because he is on a constant advocate. Here, as elsewhere, the trend towards placelessness as deplorable but inevitable; there, he suggests that a change of heart could reverse the rot. But there is another problem too. Relph went up to believe that he found all types of evidence equally valid, and his preference for "places" as opposed to "placelessness" suffices the

whole book. And we are finally left in doubt about whether the nature of place or the experience of place is at issue. For while Relph repeatedly asserts that he is concerned with our sense of place, with those habits of mind and experience that constitute us to view milieus in some particular way, the burden of his book is that the world is becoming increasingly uniform: placelessness becomes an attribute of the environment, not of people. Consider the shifting attitudes these sentences convey:

It is easy to condemn this attitude [placelessness] and its manifestations as generally undesirable, to criticize it as an unfortunate but necessary concomitant of modern technology and society. But such criticism is what we need. In all societies at all times there have been some placelessness. . . . Furthermore superficial expressions of placelessness are far from being an infallible guide to deeper attitudes: being lived-in confers some authenticity on even the most trivial and unrelentingly uniform landscapes. . . . In short, it is easy but erroneous to simplify placelessness, to see it everywhere in the post-industrial world, to advocate its removal by planning and design. . . . [Rather], placelessness is an attitude and an expression of that attitude which is becoming increasingly dominant, and . . . it is less and less possible to have a deeply felt sense of place or to create places authentically.

To paraphrase: Placelessness is not necessarily deplorable, nor uniquely a product of our own epoch. Living in a place, no matter what its appearance, confers both authenticity and attitudes toward it. Deeper placelessness is not an environmental trait, it cannot be eradicated by physical planning. But this placeless attitude is spreading, partly because

## The right to music

By Gilbert Rouget

JOHN BLACKING:  
How Musical is Man?  
120pp. Faber. £4.95.

At first sight this is a disconcerting book, with its provocative title and its list of contents set in the form of a double mirror, thus making one think simultaneously of Webern and Lövi-Strauss. *How Musical is Man?* asks John Blacking. Let me say straight away that for him the answer, unhesitatingly, is that man is basically, fundamentally and profoundly musical. If it should happen that he is not musical, as is the case with certain societies (those of the industrial West in particular), then this is because he has been mutilated and deprived of one of his essential dimensions by the effects of an alienation stemming directly from the class struggle and the exploitation of man by man. Rabelais said that what was peculiar to man was laughter; Professor Blacking would say that it is music.

Music, he writes on more than one occasion, is a characteristic which is "species specific". Why? Because "Love", which "is the basis of our existence as human beings", is at the same time "a social act" and because music "is a social act". As a result, music occupies an absolutely central position in human society. Its characteristic, moreover, is to be everywhere, and because music "is a social act", it is everywhere. The implied conclusion from "pragmatic and pragmatic space" to "existential space" is both historically and anthropologically simplistic.

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its physical manifestations reinforce "inauthentic" perceptual and behavioural habits. Relph's conclusion directly contradicts his previous rejection of physical and historical determinism.

An awkward and misconceived form of referencing interrupts the reader on occasion to chronic logical confusion. When Proust (1970), Nietzsche (1955), Whitman (1959), and Ruskin (and I refer to *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*) are invoked without an explanation of their transposition to recent times, the index contains a random selection of personal names mentioned in the text, but none of the place names, except Ontario Place, Toronto, and Tallahassee. The photographs are well-chosen but poorly printed.

A "scientific" mode of classification throws up a welter of text headings and sub-headings. Under ways of experiencing places, for example, we have: "4.3.1. Existential outside", "4.3.2. Objective outside", "4.3.3. Vicarious outside", "4.3.4. Behavioural outside", "4.3.5. Existential inside", and "4.3.7. Existential inside"—all within the span of five pages. This subdues the reader into supposing that a tight analysis is unfolding and that the fault is his own if he misses the way. In fact, the concentration on often trivial or arbitrary substituting for, rather than underscoring, a persuasive line of thought.

None the less Relph deserves thanks for polarizing the distinctions between alternative modes of perception, and between his alternative landscapes they reflect or portend:

If places matter to us, if we are at all concerned about the psychological and moral issues involved in the social and geographical mobility and placelessness, then we must explore the possibility of developing an approach

for making places self-conscious, and authentically. The only alternatives are to celebrate and participate in the glorious non-place urban society, or to accept in silence the trivialisation and curlew expropriation of the significant places of our lives.

The messianic tone of this provocative assertion presents environmental choices as dichotomous extremes; but is it really true that modern life is destroying our sense of place, our ability to see and to appreciate what is essential to locality? Is it actually the case that tourist experience has become more and more contrived, less and less authentic? Does proliferation of uniform highways, suburbs, townscape centres and tower blocks in fact diminish our awareness of the environment directly? Or do these features simply take their place in a world continually becoming more complex as we become increasingly mobile?

It is easy to accept Relph's characterization of recent landscape change: the reduction of individuality the disruption of locality by large-scale, high-speed transport networks. No doubt the Western world has more look-alike airports, super-highways, Howard Johnsons than ever before. But this is not the point over for Relph. At the heart of his argument is an attitude of mind, a quality of existence, not a physical construct. No evidence is adduced to show that our sense of place today is reduced. On the contrary, a more mobile population is now more concerned about the nature of locality. Relph complains that many localities are imitative or "museumized" and that our mode of experience is detached or manipulated; but today's travellers are no more concerned about the nature of locality than those on the Grand Tour or the Grand Cruise, surrounded by servants and home comforts.

Increasing mobility also alters

the meanings attached to home areas. The returning tourist or traveller views his home place with a different eye, perhaps "seeing" it self-consciously, comparatively, critically for the first time. The look of home comes to matter more than before, to symbolize its meaning more vividly.

Enlarging the scope of residential experience likewise affects the sense of place; mobility encourages multiple allegiances as much as it does roots. The resident who never strays from home remains unaware of, hence unconcerned about, its uniqueness; to him it is the only place. The newcomer is more aware of a place's specific individuality, and is apt to maintain those qualities that distinguish it from other places. Both may resist alterations of the physical and social fabric; but the born-and-bred oldtimer is apt to dwell on his personal stake in property and long-former habits, the latter apt to focus on the special features of the place. Keep Bridglington unique, exclaims the newcomer, who fears that a proposed road or subdivision may destroy its distinctive qualities; an original inhabitant is apt to care more that Bridglington shall remain recognizably as he has known it, minus its main nuisances.

Mobility thus transforms attachment to place, while at the same time attaching us to more and different types of place. But the new areas that mobility discloses have their limitations. As Relph points out, and our migrations render them discontinuous and evanescent. For those who move regularly through abstract locales, crossing empty and predictable environments of motels and airports, the sense of place is fragmented into a set of thin and shadowy retreats. Their awareness of locales is heightened by variety of experience, but their capacity for experiencing it is frustrated by having to subject their experience to largely placeless environments. The gulf between vivid expectation and gray reality is a modern environmental dilemma.

Whether the emphasis is on humanly organized sound or on soundly organized humanity, on a total experience related to a people or a shared experience related to a function of music is to reinforce, or rather to make more closely, to certain experiences which have come to have meaning in their social life. It reappears again, two pages further on, as the conclusion to a passage which puts forward what is the conclusion of the book: "The interpretation of the role of music in Venda festivities. If these people dance and make music after having eaten and drunk their fill, this is not, Professor Blacking explains, because they are sated and content, but because they are enjoying themselves in this fashion. 'I suggest', he writes, 'that the Venda make music when their stomachs are full, because, consciously or unconsciously, they sense the forces of separation inherent in the satisfaction of self-preservation, and they are driven to restore the balance with exceptionally cooperative and exploratory behaviour. Thus forces in culture and society would be expressed in humanly organized sound, because the chief function of music in society and culture is to promote soundly organized humanity by enhancing human consciousness.'

At this point some people will complain of paradox, and it is a pity in any case that Professor Blacking should never once justify this interpretation of the Venda. But why not? One thinks of that other manifesto (itself the contradictory echo of another, even more celebrated one), *La droite la gauche*, in which Paul Lafargue, Marx's son-in-law, carried paradox to its ultimate: "A savage madness possesses the working classes where capitalist civilization reigns. This madness brings in its train individual and social miseries which have tormented a wretched humanity for two centuries past. This madness is the love of work."

A formidable counter! And supporting Professor Blacking too were right in spite of our received ideas? Supporting music were not, for the repulse Venda, the expression of a general euphoria but, on the contrary, their means of escape from the social and economic agon? Supporting music also not

# Leonardo da Vinci as a musician

By Emanuel Winternitz

Was Leonardo also a musician? If he was, how can we explain that this important facet of his genius has been neglected? In fact, the towering and ever-growing mountain of Leonardo literature does not contain a systematic analysis of Leonardo's musical interests, but only some occasional, superficial attempts by art-historians not versed in musical history and the environment of Leonardo. Yet Leonardo's manuscripts contain a large body of musical thoughts, ideas, experiments, and inventions, a cosmos indeed, for those are not isolated, but interrelated and integrated in many ways.

There are also a great number of testimonials from Leonardo's contemporaries and the following generation extolling him as a supreme musician. Could all of this be legend?

One major obstacle in the rediscovery of Leonardo as a musician is the fact that no written composition of his has come down to us. He was an improviser, ever extant. He was an improviser, and it was not customary for improvisers of Leonardo's time to confide their music to paper. Thus it is not surprising that modern musical historians have little interest in the rich and subtle culture of improvisation of the late quattrocento and early cinquecento. Still, had they patiently gone through the thousands of pages in Leonardo's notebooks, they may have been astonished by the wealth of musical material, sketches, inventions, and suggestions.

As for the art-historians, why should they spend much time on Leonardo's musical interests, if they were not of sufficient importance to the historians of music?

Leonardo was, in fact, profoundly occupied with music. He was a performer and teacher of music, he was deeply interested in acoustics and made many experiments in this field that had immediate bearing on music; he wrestled with the concept of musical time, and he invented a considerable number of ingenious musical instruments and made improvements to existing ones. He also had some highly original ideas about the philosophy of music that were intimately connected with his philosophy of painting. It is characteristic that in his *Trattato di Pittura*, he accorded music the highest place among the arts after painting. If we knew nothing of his classification of music other than the phrase calling it "figuralione della cosa invisibile" (the shaping of the invisible), we would have a clear indication of the depth and originality of his musical thought.

The earliest source of biographical information on Leonardo, the *Trattato di Pittura*, dealing from the middle of the sixteenth century, twice mentions Leonardo's musical activities: "He was an elegant speaker and an outstanding performer on the lute, and he was the teacher of Atalanta Migliorotti, whom he instructed on this instrument." From Lorenzo the Magnificent, he was sent to the Duke of Milan to present to him, together with Atalanta Migliorotti, a lute, since he was unique in playing this instrument.

Atalanta-Migliorotti was a Florentine born in 1488, and therefore a contemporary of Leonardo. He accompanied Leonardo to the court of the Sforzas in 1482 or 1483. He too must have been an excellent performer on the lute, since he was called to the court of Matthis by the Marchese Francesco Comense. In the same place, the circle in the first performance of Poliziano's famous *Orfeo*.

About 1530 Paolo Giovio, in his short biography of Leonardo, called him a great genius of pleasant appearance, the inventor of many theatrical delights, and mentions his performance on the lute. The great musician, Luterio, who became a good friend of Leonardo in Milan and for whose treatise *De divina proportione* Leonardo designed geometric figures, refers to him as an outstanding painter, a master of perspective, an architect, and a musician.

Vasari, in his famous *Lives of the Painters*, reports that Leonardo devoted much effort to music; above all, he determined to study

playing the lute, since by nature he possessed a lofty and graceful mind; he sang divinely, improvising his own accompaniment on the lute. Vasari also records that

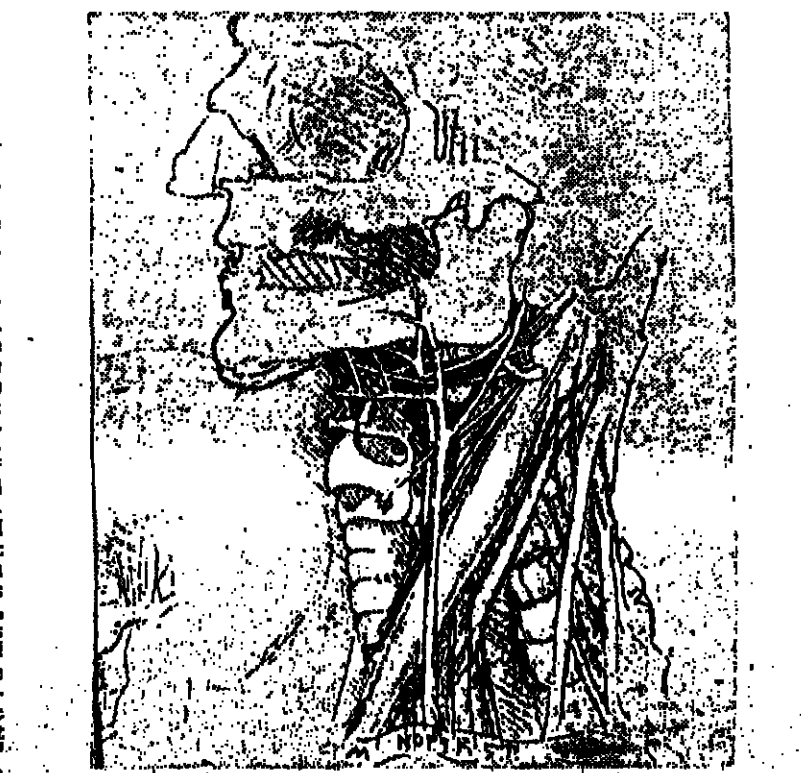
after Lodovico Sforza became the Duke of Milan, Leonardo, already famous, was brought to the duke to play for him, since the duke had a great liking for the sound of the lute; and Leonardo brought there the instrument which he had built with his own hands, made largely of silver but in the shape of a horse skull—a bizarre, new thing—so that the sound [harmonious] would have greater sonority; with this, he surpassed all the musicians who met there to play. In addition, he was the best improviser of rhymes of his time.

A number of later historians also extolled his musical ability, notably the Milanese painter Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, who in his *Trattato dell'arte della pittura* of 1584, and *Idea del templo della pittura* of 1590, names "Leonardo Vinci, painter" as one of the outstanding masters of the lute.

The lute mentioned in these sources was the *lira da braccio*, the most noble and subtle polyphonic bowed instrument of Leonardo's day—a fiddle with seven strings,

not come to Milan for musical purposes. His application for employment at the court of the Sforzas did not mention music at all, but stressed his skill in constructing bridges, canals, fortifications, guns, tunnels, and armoured cars—in short, all kinds of military engineering—and modestly said at the end that he could execute sculpture and also paintings. But we know from many sources, including Leonardo's own outlines and sketches in his notebooks, that he took a hand in luxurious entertainments arranged at the Milan court for such occasions as weddings, receptions, and processions. Leonardo designed festival architecture, costumes, masks, and theatrical machines, and it would be absurd to assume that a musician who as a performer was said to excel above all others at the court, would not have devoted himself also to the variegated musical activities there.

Although we have no compositions from Leonardo's hand, this does not mean that he had no technical knowledge of music. As we have seen, he did not write down his improvisations, however subtle they were. But there is no doubt that he could write music, for he had marked notation in no less than eighteen sketches out of the



Section of the larynx, probably the model for glissando flutes, from Leonardo's Quaderal Anatomico.

Five, as melody strings, could be stopped against the fingerboard, while two ran outside the fingerboard, providing a drone effect whenever plucked or touched by the bow. It is because of these two open strings that the *lira da braccio* had the name "lira", recalling the ancient Greek lyre which had only open strings. With the possible exception of the lute, the *lira da braccio* was the foremost improvisation instrument of the time, and it could be used by a singer to accompany himself. One of the few extant specimens, and certainly the most beautiful one, made by Giovanni d'Andrea in Verona in 1511, is today one of the treasures of the Museo del Duomo in Milan.

Leonardo must have enjoyed musical instruction in his youth in Florence, a centre of intense musical life in the churches and at the court of the Medici. In Milan, Leonardo found himself in another musical centre; it was split between two schools: the Italian, or *lira da braccio*, and the Flemish-German, or *lira da viola*. Leonardo's numerous notebooks include musical thoughts on music; some are aptly and can only be understood by a reader familiar with the natural science, technology, musical instruments of Leonardo's time, and his patterns of research. Only a patient comparison of these remarks, even apparently haphazardly over many pages, will convince the student of how systematically Leonardo was occupied with the phenomenon of music. He was not only a musician, but a philosopher of music, only some ideas of which he has left behind. Leonardo's time, and his patterns of research. Only a patient comparison of these remarks, even apparently haphazardly over many pages, will convince the student of how systematically Leonardo was occupied with the phenomenon of music. He was not only a musician, but a philosopher of music, only some ideas of which he has left behind.

Leonardo inquired into the origin of sound ("What is sound produced by a blow?") and examined the sonorous impact of bodies upon bodies, expanding Pythagorean notions. He investigated the phenomenon of vibration, and how the perception of a body makes it oscillate and communicate its oscillation to its liquid or solid matter. He studied the diffusion of sound waves as different from light waves, the reflection and refraction of sound waves and the phenomenon of echo, the speed of sound, and the factors that

determine its loudness. He investigated the laws that govern the fading of sound by varying the distance between its source and the ear, and established what we may call a perspective of sound.

As a musician he was also naturally occupied with the factors that determine musical pitch and experimented with vases of different shapes and varying apertures. He anticipated by three centuries the discovery of E. F. F. Chladni, the Bohemian physicist, who threw sand on a wet plate and set it into vibration with a fiddle bow which organized the sand into geometrical figures. Leonardo struck a dusty table top with a hammer, which caused the dust to form a regular design of small heaps. Thus Leonardo's discovery may have been accidental; but it must have had special significance for him since it constituted an easily observable correspondence between the visual and the auditory realms.

Leonardo was deeply interested in the construction of musical instruments. He invented new ones and improved existing ones. His ideas have never been systematically studied and their investigation requires familiarity with the contemporary instruments and many devices. Leonardo's achievements in technology, such as his mechanical works, his use of coiled springs, etc. Also many of his quick sketches are not accompanied by explanations.

Leonardo's notes and designs for musical instruments are scattered among many pages in the Codex Atlanticus, Manuscript B, the Codex Arundel, and the Madrid Codices. Cryptic as many of these notes and drawings appear to be if studied in isolation, methodical comparison reveals that they are not merely divergent devices for performing magic tricks, but that they serve systematic efforts by Leonardo to realize some basic aims, of which the most important are the following: automation of musical instruments and facilitation of playing technique through new kinds of keyboards; increasing the speed of playing; extension of tonal range to make it possible, for instance, to play melodies on human voices; overcoming the quick fading of the sound of bowed strings—Leonardo speaks of the "moltiplicazione della musica"—by giving the instrument an endless bow; enriching comparatively simple instruments to make them capable of polyphony and of playing a wide range of sounds, and even having a polyphony of the sounds of bowed strings at the control of a keyboard.

Leonardo was greatly interested in the construction of drums. He not only tried to make them easier to play, but also expanded their musical possibilities, such as tonal range, far beyond the limitations of the conventional instruments of his time. He also gave some thought to the mechanization of military drums, and he had some ideas of using his interest in devising tools of war from small daggers to gigantic war machines and fortifications.

The Codex Atlanticus contains no less than eight sketches of military drums, some cylindrical, some kettle drums. They exhibit various methods of automation, for instance, by connecting the axle of the carriage wheels with the beaters through a system of cogwheels or pulleys. The sketches show a variety of ideas for new types of drums in a set of sketches on a large page in the Codex Arundel. They represent, in logical order, an astonishing variety in purpose and construction. Some drums are made expressly for producing chords and scales. Others are devised to make one skin produce tones of different pitch in rapid succession.

These ingenious sketches suggest the question of whether or not Leonardo used them for building actual instruments or at least workable models. It is not clear. He may have been satisfied with a brief record of his ideas. I have made models for some of them for lecture demonstrations, and they work well. Among the many musical instruments conceived by Leonardo, the *viola organista* is by far the most complicated. No less than six different organs in the notebooks contain sketches for it. None of them

are precise drawings intended for construction. They are not even completely thought through, since several details would probably have been found impracticable in actual construction. However, to anticipate the outcome of our analysis, the drawings are all correct with the idea of a stringed instrument with keyboard in which the strings are set into vibration by a mechanical device—a wheel, a bow with a huck-and-forth motion, or a belt of hair moving across the strings as a sort of endless bow.

Such an instrument would fit a big gap in the multitudinous array of instruments, not only in Leonardo's time, but also in our own. It would combine the polyphonic possibilities of the keyboard with the tone colour of bowed instruments. It would be something like an organ with strings instead of wind timbre, and in addition it would provide the possibility of producing crescendos and decrescendos by finger pressure.

Although it is not known in what order Leonardo made his sketches, it is possible to arrange the drawings in a logical sequence if we assume that Leonardo progressed from less workable solutions to more practicable ones. The most workable and apparently ultimate solution is in Manuscript B, where we find a sketch of a perfectly consistent, workable keyboard instrument with an endless bow (*archetto*), a belt of hair moved by a motor attached to the side of the sound box and passed across the strings by means of two small rollers. Leonardo, also designed mechanisms for moving the player, by pushing the small projecting buttons, to select the desired strings and draw them against the *archetto*. We do not know, however, how near Leonardo came to the construction of the *viola organista* or whether he ever made working models. Today, with an electric motor in place of one using weights or springs, the construction would be greatly facilitated.

The sensational reappearance in February, 1965 of two notebooks of Leonardo, 700 pages in all, has substantially enlarged our knowledge of his research and thought in many fields and his activities in the realm of art, science, and applied technology. The Madrid Codices contain only a few pages devoted to musical matters, but they add considerably to our knowledge of Leonardo's interest in music and musical instruments and to our comprehension of his indefatigable mind, so that we can now see how his associations and ideas were interconnected and how he could cope with this onslaught only by jotting down passing thoughts, often so sketchily that important details, which he evidently took for granted, are neither recorded nor explained in his comments.

One of the most interesting sketches shows a bell with no clappers inside and two hammers striking its rim from each side. There is, however, a novel mechanism operated by a trigger action of four levers which causes the hammers to strike the side of the bell at different heights. These must be dampers. The accompanying text briefly says that one bell can work like four bells and emphasizes a mutation of voices similar to that in an organ. Thus Leonardo must have believed that the bell has ringing areas that produce tones of different pitch. If they are slightly muted, while the rim is set into vibration by the hammer, it must easily add, however, that his own explanation of this idea of different areas and my correspondence with bell founders has yielded no conclusive results.

Another set of sketches is concerned with a new and ingenious type of bellows which simplifies the action since it consists of a single bellows divided into two sections to the left and right of an immovable dividing wall resulting in an automatic synchronization of alternating breathing. Other sketches show very schematically versions of the *viola organista*, designed to be played by a single player and called *viola organista* (keyed viol). It represents a smaller portable version replacing the continuous movement of the endless bow (archetto) by a forward and backward movement achieved by a lever with a handle inscribed *gomito*.

Leonardo's philosophy of music is neither consistent nor systematic.



at least on the surface. His thoughts are scattered over many notebooks and pages, and most of them occur in little clusters of phrases among different topics. But again, putting them together not only is rewarding but also reveals, if not a systematic philosophy of music, at least a renewed wrestling with musical problems, which are conceived in a radically original light and are notably independent of the traditional philosophy of music of his time.

Leonardo's celebrated *Paragone*, the comparison of the arts including music, derives from the famous passage in which he divides the intellectual faculties of Mantua and Florence of the quattrocento. In fact, it is a part of the *Trattato della pittura*, a book arranged after Leonardo's death from his writings on the arts scattered throughout many of his manuscripts. The discussion of the comparative value of poetry, painting, sculpture, and music in the *Paragone* is a mixture of naive, often contradictory statements commonplace at the time, rhetorical attempts to bolster the social status of the painter, and profoundly original ideas about the nature of the arts including that of music.

Among the clichés is the exaltation of painting because it retains beauty forever, defeating the impact of time, the great destroyer. Compare Helen of Troy suggests Leonardo, in her purified state with her noble features preserved in a painted likeness, or the preference for painting over sculpture because the latter makes you swear. Other clichéd arguments debate music for her mortal disease: fading, and the boredom caused by repetitiveness.

But this is by no means the definitive word about music. Leonardo states that it is only through the sense of hearing that we can know the "sciences," by which he means the liberal arts. This ignorance is the lack of familiarity with the most recent achievement of painting, linear perspective, an exact rationalization of sight based on mathematical proportions. This made painting a quasi-mathematical science of the same nobility as music, which, by virtue of her theory of harmonic proportions, had been for centuries one of the members of the quadrivium together with geometry, arithmetic, and astronomy.

This ranking of music as the sister art has never been mentioned by historians of the arts or by what we would call today aesthetes. The attempt to improve the scholarly, and therefore the social, status of the painter already claimed by Leon Battista Alberti, was not without success: when Pollaiuolo in 1493 designed the tomb of Sixtus IV he added *Prospectiva* to the allegorical figures of the quadrivium and trivium.

Of greatest interest among the clichés used by Leonardo in the *Paragone* are his comparisons of spatial arts (arts for the eye) with temporal arts (arts for the ear), evidently following Aristotle's *Sixth Book of Physics*, the analysis of harmonic proportions, and the inclusion of the "continuous quantities." It is in the *Paragone* that Leonardo defined music as the shaping of the invisible.

What would Leonardo have said to over-specialization in our time and, most recently, to the slogans inviting the scholar to join the bandwagon for "interdisciplinary activities" or "interdepartmental research"? He was specialized in the extreme both in the observation and simple recording of phenomena in many fields, a variable witness, consistency of the looking for comparable puzzles. Analogies as a method of reasoning played an enormous role in Leonardo's multifarious explorations into nature.

Leonardo explores optical cords in plants comparable to those in mammals reaching for a universal biological law. He analyzes similarities between swimming and flight, comparing the mechanical properties of water and air and studies the dynamic properties of boats and fish.

For his *Quadrerni d'Anatomia* he draws diagrams of the muscles and tendons that hold upright the spine and skull and points to the similarity with a mast supported by shrouds. Leonardo's studies of anatomy and his numerous anatomical drawings are full of references to the laws of mechanics that help

illuminate the structure and function of the body. God-made and man-made machines are both ruled by the same set of laws: the laws of mechanics. Leonardo compares in diagrams and through experiments the different refraction of light, of sound, of magnetic force, and of odour. He observes similarities between the phenomenon of echo and the laws governing the refraction of light by mirrors. He likens the retention of the after-image in the eye to comparable phenomena in the ear and nose and the durability of music to the lastingness of the sound of a bell.

Investigating the propagation of sound waves as different from light waves and measuring the fading of sound by varying the distance between its source and the ear, he arrives at laws which we may call a perspective of sound, since they are conceived parallel to the partial laws of optical and pictorial perspective that were so important to him as a painter. It is in this connection that we can closely observe Leonardo's habit of quickly catching and recording in graphic sketches analogies which evidently have just struck him as a byproduct of investigation. Small elongated triangles with added proportion numbers serve to symbolize the gradual diminution of sound on its way from its source towards the ear. In one of the diagrams he rapidly sketches seven such triangles arranged around the ear, but diminishing to a point that means nothingness before they reach it. Immediately beside it a cluster of seven flowers is sketched like a little ornament, and to the graphic aperçu, analogous in pattern, it appears to be one of the little mementos to remind him to investigate the analogous behaviour of spreading odour.

Leonardo's analogies are not symptoms of diversification but, on the contrary, of his firm belief that nature is governed by universal laws that are detectable in their countless ramifications. Hence Leonardo's unrepeated exaltation of mathematics and its derivative, the theory of proportions, applied to many fields among which are musical acoustics and the theory of linear perspective. If we so understand the search for unity in multiplicity, we can comprehend to what degree Leonardo as an explorer of

nature excels in his method of great universal minds of the quattrocento such as Leon Battista Alberti.

Leonardo's research through analogies does not stop with observation; it carries him to invention. Mechanisms observed by him in his anatomical and physiological research are employed as models for the creation of similar but better machines, for instance, for tools of music.

Two examples may suffice here. In the *Codex Atlanticus*, folio 397, we find a sketch of two strange pipes. Their upper ends are shaped like that of recorders, but in place of the usual side holes for fingering, these have slits to change the pitch gradually or, as we would say today, for producing glissandos by closing the hand around the pipe and moving it up and down. Leonardo called these pipes "voces humane" (human voices). The model for them can be found in the larynx and trachea as drawn by Leonardo in the *Quadrerni d'Anatomia*. There the larynx shows a shape comparable to the upper end of recorders. Significantly he called the larynx "voce humane", applying the term to the human voice as well as to the machinery that produces it. Leonardo does not explain the use for his glissando-pipes, but neither did he for many of his other new instruments. And come to think of it, neither did Benjamin Franklin foresee all the implications when he, a late-born Prometheus, stole lightning from heaven. Leonardo's book on musical instruments, mentioned in his *Quadrerni d'Anatomia* of all places, has not come down to us; the note was probably a reminder to himself and he never had the time to write it, as was the case with many other treatises he planned.

Turning to other wind instruments, in the *Codex Atlanticus* Leonardo anticipated by 450 years the key system of the modern traverse flute, invented by Theobald Boehm in 1830. In a series of beautiful, precise sketches Leonardo shows several methods of reaching the finger holes of wind instruments, which are too far away for normal fingers to reach. Again we find exact analogies in the *Quadrerni d'Anatomia* where the tendons of the hand and fingers are depicted as they transfer motion from a central point to the point where

motion is needed, the fingertips. What the new key mechanism of Leonardo supplied was simply an expansion of the mechanism existing in the human body.

These analogies cut two ways: Leonardo not only borrows from nature to improve his creation but constantly draws on his experiences as an engineer and connoisseur of mechanics and applied physics in order to analyse and understand more profoundly what he finds in nature.

It seems that an obsession with analogies is, on the surface, a basic trait of Leonardo's searching mind, a method of uniting disparate "fields." What we actually encounter here is an all-embracing curiosity and an optimistic faith that the universe, far from being chaotic, ruled by laws, being chaotic, and all conceivable with each other. What he was searching for was the blueprint for creation—creation in both senses of the word: the organizing forces as well as their result, a homogeneous, comprehensible universe. Leonardo's analogies carry him still further. They form bridges between his observation of nature, recorded more often with his pencil than through words, and his artistic creation. In his *Quadrerni d'Anatomia*, Leonardo draws several sections of the heart, one "strumento mirabile, inventato dal sommo maestro". The middle slice with the characteristic arrangement of the papillary muscles and the strands of chordae tendinae shows a symmetrical structure which is astonishingly similar to some of his sections of a polygonal church.

Both sections show the vault, a central nave, and separated from it by columns, two side aisles. Whether Leonardo's quick hand recalled church designs when he sketched the heart, or conversely was influenced by the architectural structure of the heart muscles when he drew church designs we cannot tell and, in all probability, he could not have told us.

Still further: the bridges between different realms of perception such as sight and sound, and also between normal senses and the realm of elaborate keys. Again we find exact analogies in the *Quadrerni d'Anatomia* where the tendons of the hand and fingers are depicted as they transfer motion from a central point to the point where

the youthful "Saint John" at Windor Castle we find both sides of the leaf overcrowded with large and small profiles. In fact, the same profile with many modifications worked by ageing and sex. It seems as if the pen of the painter would have acquired a life of its own to accomplish this set of variations.

Let us here recall only a small section with three small profiles in the centre of one of the two pages. The first is the same young boy with flowing locks, portrayed several times on this and the other page. The other is the same face after seventy or eighty years of life have left their marks—more bony, the upper lip shrunk, the lower lip protruding, but still some of the silky locks remain. To the right the wheel of time is turned in the opposite direction: we see the same profile of the child jotted down in only one or two lines of admirably sure physiognomic calligraphy. What we witness here is a graphic meditation on time, the boy as a destroyer, who perpetually and inexorably changes the same substance producing variations on the same theme. These are doodles to be sure, but created by a mind obsessed with the idea of the flow of time. Time as the composer of variations has become the theme of a genius who could make visible what fundamentally is invisible: the flow as a principle of musical art—"la figurazione dell'invisibile".

Among publications of Emanuel Winternitz on Leonardo da Vinci's musical activities, see: "Keyboards for Wind Instruments Invented by Leonardo da Vinci," *The Metropolitan Museum Journal*, Vol. 2, 1963; and "Melodic, Chordal and Other Drums Invented by Leonardo da Vinci" in *Raccolta Vinciana*, Fasc. XX, Milan, 1964; "Leonardo da Vinci" in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Vol. 13, Kassel, 1966; "Anatomie des Menschen—Die Impulse von Leonardo's Anatomical Research on his Musical and Other Machines," in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 111, No. 4, Philadelphia, 1967; "Strange Musical Instruments in the Madrid Notebook," *The Metropolitan Museum Journal*, Vol. 2, 1963; and "The Role of Music in Leonardo's Paragone," in *Phenomenology and Social Reality—Essays in Memory of Alfred Schütz*, The Hague, 1967.

A direct quotation by Raphael from the London cartoon of the "Madonna, St Anne and the Infant Christ" is the chief evidence provided for dating the cartoon to the winter of 1507/8, and opens the way to a clear account of Leonardo's development of the theme that culminated in the unfinished painting in the Louvre. This, rather than the gay St John the Baptist, perversely inviting our thoughts to higher things by pointing heavenwards, is argued to have been his last extant work, still engaging his attention when in France.

The *Madonna in the London cartoon* is described as "equating on St Anne's chin and forehead, and in the Virgin's face, a fastidious author. Vivid perhaps for some, but less so for others, is his cocktail party how-do-you-do Cecilia Gallerani, the sister in the marvelous Cracow portrait. That work only inches away from completion, surely remains the "Mona Lisa", Duchamp and the authorities of the Louvre notwithstanding. The traditional identification of the sister as the wife of Francesco del Giocondo is here once again questioned. Isabelle d'Este, no less, is tentatively proposed as an alternative.

Leonardo died in the France of Francis I, the saint at Chambord provide a testimony to his last years and to another side of his multifaceted genius that would have required another, later epoch, Gould argues, to have obtained proper realization.

Having worked and studied in a long life chiefly in Florence and Milan, more briefly in other parts of northern Italy, and in the last years in Rome, he remains an enigma pursuing, as Gould suggests, "the spirit of ceaseless enquiry of a brilliant child." Thanks to this book, we come a good way towards unravelling those enigma, which Leonardo's genius presented as a complicated and revealing challenge to historians of art.

Not for the first time is the Metropolitan series of studies for

## Imagination against reason

By Charles Ryskamp

GEORFFREY KEYNES:  
*William Blake's Lagoon: A Last Testament*

62pp (with 60 collotype plates). Paris: Trianon Press, £80 (32 de luxe copies), £30 (380 copies).

In his nineteenth year Sir Geoffrey Keynes writes about those works in which Blake, towards the end of his life made yet another, a bolder, "last testament" concerning the role of the artist. Blake's position in the history of art is closely related to one another: *Lagoon*, *On Homer's Poetry and On Virgil*, and *The Ghost of Abel*. They are presented by Sir Geoffrey, with related drawings, engravings, and a preface, in a volume for the William Blake Trust that completes the series which began with the facsimile of *Jerusalem* twenty-five years before the present publication. This is Sir Geoffrey's latest book on Blake; he still has at least four or five books on Blake or on other subjects in the press, and is ready for the press. It is nevertheless the fulfilment of that triumphant alliance of Sir Geoffrey, the William Blake Trust, and the Trianon Press in the facsimile publication of all of Blake's "Illuminated Books".

In the volumes previously published the Trianon Press has set the highest standard for colour reproduction. In the present volume it has faced just as brilliantly the challenge of black-and-white illustrations. There must be one slight regret, however, that colour was not used at all for these plates. One misses it in the reproductions of the powerful watercolour "The Body of Abel found by Adam and Eve" (Fogg Art Museum), and the tempera painting of the same subject in the "Tate Gallery," or the sepiash vash miniature drawing owned by Sir Geoffrey himself.

## Measuring the market

By Bernhard Fabian

In 1956 the *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchhandels* made its tentative attempt to publish the first bibliographical journal in West Germany. Twenty years and some 15,000 closely printed pages later, it is firmly established as a leading German publication in the field which may be said to have been defined by its editors and which, to judge from various recent issues, appears to be still expanding.

The journal's anniversary coincides with the centenary of the body by which it is published, the Historical Commission of the German Bookdealer's Association (Historische Kommission des Börsenvereins des deutschen Buchhandels). This institution holds, by its origin and nature, a special, if not a unique, place among the promoters and publishers of bibliographical work. Financially supported by the Booksellers' Association, it is largely independent and not affiliated with any academic institution. Consisting of a small group of booksellers, publishers, librarians, and scholars, it has preserved its independence of mind.

Founded in 1876 at the suggestion of the Leipzig publisher Eduard Brockhaus, the Historical Commission, first composed of five members, was originally given the task of exploring the feasibility of a large-scale history of the German book trade. Financially supported by its associates envisaged it, this "historical investigation of the book market" was to be an account of the origin and development of the book trade's activities proper as well as a contribution to the cultural history of the nation. It was to exhibit the role which the book and the book trade had played in German literary, social, and economic history between Gutenberg and the end of the nineteenth century.

The project proved difficult but eventually matured, in what is still the standard history of the book trade in Germany, Friedrich Kapp and Johann Goldfriedrich's four-volume *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels* (1886-1913). Essentially a work in the tradition of nineteenth-century positivism, it nevertheless reflects a peculiar phase in the writing of German history, a period in which it was conceived and executed during the rediscovery of the importance of the municipal archives, which frequently contain the archives of guilds and companies. In Leipzig, the archivist Gustav Moritz Wilmanns took a special interest in the documentary material relating to the book trade, which had fortunately escaped the early nineteenth-century efforts to dispose of seemingly superfluous records. It is largely owing to him that the first two volumes of the *Geschichte* could be written.

Much of the material preserved in the Commission's first publication, the *Archiv für Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, its twenty volumes appeared between 1876 and 1898 and are still an indispensable repository of early research in the history of the German and international book trade. The *Archiv* was revived in 1930, but the solitary volume published then suggests that with the completion of the *Geschichte* the original impulse was exhausted. Goldfriedrich died in 1945 after having served as the archivist of the Börsenverein and also as custodian of the remarkable collection of printed material assembled in the Library of the Börsenverein in Leipzig. This collection, perhaps the greatest legacy bequeathed by the Historical Commission. Even after the partial destruction of the collection and its subsequent dissolution as a separate library the two-volume catalogue (1885-1901) remains a major reference work.

The Historical Commission was revived in Frankfurt in 1953 at the suggestion of Hans Hildebrandt, director of the Munich Oldenbourg Verlag. The new Commission, as it calls itself, while largely upon continuing the work of its predecessor, has conceived of its task in more comprehensive terms. The history of the German book trade is still its central concern, but the *Archiv* shows the scope of its interest and activities has expanded.

impressions of these three as well as the two drawings previously mentioned. No other collector—or institution—so far as I know, has more than two of the principal or related works. Sir Geoffrey has therefore been able through many of his years to live with this last testament of Blake in its various manifestations.

More than any of the previous Trianon Press Blake volumes, this one reveals Sir Geoffrey's extraordinary acumen as a collector as well as a scholar. It must already be obvious that his collection plays a central role in the formation of this book. There are nine works in the various media which provide the basic texts and visual forms. Three of these exist in multiple copies (two impressions of the *Lagoon*, a conventionally engraved plate; six of *On Homer's Poetry and On Virgil*, and four of *The Ghost of Abel*, both in relief etching, as in the *Illuminated Books*, but always left uncoloured). Sir Geoffrey owns

it be further elaborated or defined without losing its harrowing intensity, its terror and its anguish? Blake was only in his early sixties when he drew this, and when the engraved and etched plates which established his last testament. But his vision of art repressed by a materialistic world, and of the vanishing of imagination by reason or science, comes from an aged man's honesty and anger; it is created by purity of line and unity of form, and rage. Although not yet old, Blake might well have been added to the company of artists and writers (in Lord Clark's wonderful *Lecture*, "The Artist as Hero," who at the end of his long life were fighting "the furious battle with time, not tainting, but scarring the white canvas of eternity").

The *Lagoon*, in the engraving of Blake's shading, is the epitome of Blake's shading; it was the alpha and the omega of Blake's art. The image of Simeon and the Christ child was for Rembrandt. Sir Geoffrey traces the milestones in Blake's long study of Greek art, and particularly the *Lagoon*, beginning with the artist at the age of ten, apprenticed to his first drawing-master, Henry Pars, where he drew from plaster casts of antique sculptures. We next find him, a few years later, living and working with the master sculptor, James Easton, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he read Winckelmann's *Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks*, translated by Fuseli. (The book, with Blake's signature in it, is in Sir Geoffrey's library.) For Winckelmann, *Lagoon* suffers, but suffers like the *Philoktetes* of Sophocles: "we weeping feel his pains, but wish for the hero's strength to support his misery".

Sir Geoffrey surveys Blake's knowledge of Greek language, literature, and art. He retells the well-known anecdote (but perfectly aptly) of Blake visiting the Royal Academy's unique school in order to make a drawing of the *Lagoon* cast there for an engraving of Rees's *Cyclopaedia*. Even Blake's keeper of the school, Mr. Blake, and Rembrandt's child (now in Stockholm), left at the artist at the age of ten, apprenticed to his first drawing-master, Henry Pars, where he drew from plaster casts of antique sculptures. We next find him, a few years later, living and working with the master sculptor, James Easton, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he read Winckelmann's *Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks*, translated by Fuseli. (The book, with Blake's signature in it, is in Sir Geoffrey's library.) For Winckelmann, *Lagoon* suffers, but suffers like the *Philoktetes* of Sophocles: "we weeping feel his pains, but wish for the hero's strength to support his misery".

Sixty-seven years ago Sir Geoffrey began writing about William Blake. Eleven years later, in 1921, the Grollier Club published his monumental *Bibliography of William Blake*. Now after dozens of years of work, he has written about Blake, and hundreds of articles and bibliographies about many figures in the history of English literature and of science, of decades as a most distinguished surgeon, and writer of very many poems, which have the *last testament* of Geoffrey Keynes. Thus his name appears on the title-page, echoing another of his heroes, Sir Thomas Browne. We all salute Sir Geoffrey, not only wish that he could have the very best of health, but also doubt really in another 900 years for his bibliography, each of them a model for our time and for the years to come.

## Fired for life

By Judy Christy

Michael Cardew

Essays edited by John Houston with an introduction by Bernard Leach. 80pp with 39 illustrations. Craft Advisory Committee. £3 (paperback, £1.75).

Michael Cardew, now seventy-five, was Bernard Leach's "first and best student." His first enthusiasm for English traditional slipware has remained the basis of his work throughout his career in England and Africa. This well-designed book gives a clear picture of him, both as man and potter. The many photographs show the texture and quality of his pots, and they include two portraits, one of Cardew as a young intellectual, and the other of him as a craggy sage.

The five essays and introduction cover various phases of his life, overlapping in subject-matter but not in approach. Ray Finch's vivid account of his life, his work, and his personality, from his view as a student, apprentice, companion, and friend, is particularly illuminating. During the time he was in Africa, Cardew was a potter, and he kept his pottery at Wendford Bridge, where he worked for short periods. He suggests, vividly, according to John Houston, that it was his long absence which have given his work a legendary quality.

group had become for him an emblem of the two things he most hated—materialism associated with Urizen, the cruel Creator, and unimagination, the cruel Destroyer. The analyses of the other works are handled with the same admirable conciseness and simplicity. There is so much about Blake in so little space.

The book reveals Geoffrey Keynes at the height of his powers as commentator and editor of Blake. Sir Geoffrey, as usual, has the ability to present and analyse bibliographical and biographical material with perfect clarity. His succinct writing is a model for all scholars, and particularly for writers about Blake. It has none of that turgid dullness which characterizes much of Blake scholarship and pseudo-scholarship.

"In my beginning is my end. . . . In my end is my beginning." This is true of Blake's early and last testaments of *Lagoon*. It is true of that very brief play, *The Ghost of Abel*, addressed "To Lord Byron the 'wilderness'", which is a sequel to *Lagoon*, carrying on the same theme.

It is concerned with the victory of imagination over Nature, adding Blake's fundamental doctrine of the necessity of the forgiveness of sins, explicitly those of the artist, to the *Chorus of Angels*. The conclusion announces the ultimate victory of the Elohim Jehovah of the Christians through the power of the human imagination and its creative art.

At the bottom of the final plate of *The Ghost of Abel* Blake has etched "1822 W. Blake Originals." This refers, Sir Geoffrey explains, to Blake's first experimental use of etched copperplates for *All Religions are One*, a statement of the sameness of the poetic genius in all mankind.

Blake's drawing and the engraving from it (1815) are illustrated and discussed, and Sir Geoffrey shows how Blake, even when copying, does not record exactly what he saw. Then there is an investigation of the extraordinary separate *Lagoon* plate itself, a pure line engraving in which the sculptural groups are surrounded by statements of Blake's principles in a manner resembling that of the hermetic philosophers. The transmutation from the ancient sculpture to Blake's mythology is described: "It is plain that the Græco-Roman

would have to reorganize his pottery on technical reasons, he was invited to go to China to help in a project for developing local pottery, and this gave him the experience with higher-fired stoneware that he needed. Catherine Pleydell Houever gives a more personal and anecdotal account of his youth, family life, and travels.

When local pottery supplied local needs for tiles, bricks, and domestic ware, a potter was a "workman" or "craftsman," but as industry mass-produced these things, the individual craftsman lost his market. Now a potter has to choose between industrial design, studio repetition work, the making of individual pieces, or find some personal compromise. John Houston writes about Cardew's concern with being both artist and artisan, explaining at Wendford how he made traditional slipware in the old technique, and continued in China and later in Nigeria, where he worked for twenty years on government schemes, improving techniques while preserving the traditions of the native potters.

During the time he was in Africa, Cardew was a potter, and he kept his pottery at Wendford Bridge, where he worked for short periods. He suggests, vividly, according to John Houston, that it was his long absence which have given his work a legendary quality.



# A quintet of directors

By Robin Wood

**JAMES MONACO:**  
*The New Wave*  
Truffaut, Godard, Chabrol, Rohmer, Rivette  
372pp. Oxford University Press.  
£9.95.

In the current crisis in film criticism (if one can continue to speak of a crisis that has now lasted a decade), the first question that is asked about an ambitious new book on the cinema is not "what is it about?" but "where does it stand?" The fact that methodology and political-ideological orientation have become crucial issues in the current crisis is a sign of the intellectual, sensitive, perceptive, and critical nature of the crisis. The critic can no longer permit himself to be trivial—which is what even the most intelligent, sensitive and perceptive criticism risks becoming if it pretends unawareness of any function in the broader movement of society, without the support of a theory that is more than a mere "aesthetic", that is to say, a theory about life and society as well as about the cinema.

One can characterize the conflict succinctly and crudely as one between the powerful and in many ways impressive movement based on a fusion of Marxism, semiotics, structuralism and psychoanalysis (with Althusser, Barthes and Lacan as key figures) on the one hand, and the establishment on the other; with the important proviso that neither side should be regarded as monolithic, and that there are numerous splinter groups (as represented, for example, by the magazines *Frangere* and *Moviet*) which would be difficult to assimilate into either. The *New Wave's* relation to these two camps is a complicated one, which is what makes the book interesting. On the one hand James Monaco is careful never to

treat films merely as aesthetic objects, has read Althusser and is able to use him to illuminate the thematic of recent Godard, and quotes Barthes approvingly in his introduction. On the other hand, the book is securely placed within a traditional liberal humanism that thinks it can accommodate both Godard and Truffaut (treated here with equal enthusiasm and few qualifications) without becoming aware of the problems such an acceptance creates.

In effect, *The New Wave* is a collection of five *auteur* monographs (varying greatly in quality and length, the longest, on Godard, being also the best) of a kind I believed to be at least temporarily obsolete. Recent developments in film criticism have tended to stress, in my opinion, the importance of a discussion of films purely in terms of an individual *auteur* oeuvre: we have become so much more aware of all that is fed into a film from a multiplicity of cultural, industrial and aesthetic sources. On the other hand, the book has some of the merits of the *auteur* monograph at its best: it is thorough in its coverage, painstaking in its analyses, its commentaries on individual films are generally intelligent, and a lucid and sometimes penetrating overview of each director's work emerges.

It is Mr Monaco's method—and a certain tendency to the industriously academic that goes with it—that one questions, rather than his ability. The undertaking to discuss the *New Wave* is itself problematic: far more so now than it would have been in the mid-1960s. The unity of the movement was always more apparent than real: if one looks now at the early films of Godard, Truffaut and Chabrol—regarded, when they came out, as having enough in common for one to discuss them confidently as aspects of a single phenomenon—one sees clearly that it was always Godard who was the revolutionary and iconoclast, long before he discovered Marxism; that the subversiveness of Truffaut and Chabrol was always contained within definable traditional limits, both formal and social. Mr Monaco offers some account of

the movement's cultural-intellectual background, but it reads as if he had set himself a bit of homework to carry out before getting on to the films. Subsequently, a sense of "cross-currents" is what the book strikingly lacks. There are occasional comparisons between directors, and the obligatory references to May, 1968, but by the end it is clear that the challenge to explore the *New Wave* and its cultural developments as a cultural phenomenon has not been met. The decision to juxtapose the five directors comes to seem (despite their common origins within *Cahiers du Cinéma*) merely academic: they have been given their label in film history, so they are included in the same book.

Mr Monaco's failure with Chabrol seems to me particularly important. One guesses that Chabrol was only included because the format demanded it (there would not be the same pressure to include Resnais, who was not attached to *Cahiers* and who was perceived of the outset as an artist following his own independent road). Mr Monaco has nothing new to offer

on Chabrol's work, and his lack of interest in it is manifested in sudden rash of errors and inaccuracies in a book whose most obvious general quality is its carelessness. The account of *Les Bonnes Femmes* ("the best of his early films") must be among the most eccentric ever offered by a serious critic of a film he professes to value. It is as if the story had been told in detail and then Chabrol and Gégau had carefully edited out those scenes and other elements which did not pertain to the imminent murder. Similarly, he describes *L'Or du Malin* as "a minor masterpiece" but thinks it ends with the husband shooting his wife. The schoolboy son of the appalling bourgeois family of "La Mucette" (the district of Paris in which Chabrol's episode of *Paris vu par...* is set, quaintly rendered for us by Monaco as "the Muse") is described as "a young man". The recurrent Chabrolian names Charles and Paul are reversed by Monaco for *Les Cousins*, despite his quoting Chabrol a few pages later as saying that "we will never see a Charles kill a Paul".

Chabrol gets thirty pages of text, Truffaut nearly ninety: the proportion clearly corresponds to Monaco's

relative evaluation, a judgment I find perverse in itself and by no means convincingly argued, the body of distinguished work Chabrol has given us seeming far more substantial than Truffaut's and far more subversive and disturbing than Mr Monaco gives it credit for being. The author's evident affection for Truffaut's films makes the section devoted to them one of the most interesting in the book, with much incidental illumination, but I don't find the thrust of the argument convincing. The demonstration that Truffaut's films have a political dimension, for example, amounts to little more than a demonstration that every film has a political dimension: there is some sleight-of-hand involved in the application of the term "political" to Truffaut's work and then to Godard's, the work undergoing a shift of meaning that is not acknowledged. Nor is the repeatedly offered promise of detailed analysis ever fulfilled, the gestures that are made in that direction providing inadequate support for the assertions of value. The *New Wave* is for the most part intelligently perceived, thoughtfully and carefully considered; it doesn't seem to me significantly to further the critical debate, but it provides scholarly information and helpful insights.

## Stage by stage

By Ned Chaillet

**E. H. MIKHAIL:**  
*Contemporary British Drama 1950-1976*  
An Annotated Critical Bibliography  
147pp. Macmillan. £7.95.

If E. H. Mikhail mount his bibliography to be a working tool for theatre scholars he left far too few blank pages where scholars might note his omissions. He surveys the surveys of others and neglects studies of individual dramatists which are often more useful in defining "contemporary British drama". Thus he includes John Lahr's *Up to the Mountains and Down to the Valley*, but not *The Fourth Wall* because it "includes essays on Harold Pinter and John Osborne", but he rejects

John and Andrea Lahr's *A Casebook on Harold Pinter's "The Homecoming"*, which contains many perceptive essays on Pinter. In the same way Martin Esslin's *The Theatre of the Absurd* is welcomed for its "essays on Samuel Beckett, Harold Pinter and N. F. Simpson" while Esslin's useful *Pinter, A Study of His Plays* is ignored.

Professor Mikhail similarly misses valuable studies on John Osborne, John Arden and other important dramatists, while he makes way for an entry on the introduction to *Plays from Penguin's New English Dramatists series*, or *Stage Dialects*, a book which includes "chapters on Standard English, Cockney, Irish, Scots". If biographies of dramatists are to be welcomed, the same is not true of theatre and *Contemporary Theatre, 1871-1971* rates an entry. In *Contemporary British Drama 1950-1976* the British drama seems

to consist of events in London and Dublin, with a few bows to Edinburgh and Belfast. Most of the periodical articles, books, reference works and bibliographies listed are British, Irish and American, with what appear to be taken representations from assorted foreign languages.

Although Professor Mikhail's idiosyncratic choices are faulted, his book might still be useful for the succinct summaries he provides of his chosen works. But when he comes to mention Sheridan Morley's theatre yearbooks under "reference works" they seem to consist only of volumes for 1971, 1972 and 1973. It is not until the section on "books" that these volumes reappear with a fourth volume, *Theatre 74*. And as for coverage of the year 1976, the book was in print before it was ended and virtually no important publication is considered.

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